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SOURCE Nowe Drogi, Vol VII, No 3.

JOZWIAK-WITOLD'S SPEECH AT EIGHTH PLENUM
OF POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

[Comment: The following information is taken from one of the commentaries made by dignitaries of the PZPR (United Polish Workers' Party) on Bierut's keynote address at the Eighth Plenum of the party's Central Committee, held 28 March 1953. Each of the commentaries, given in abridged form in Nowe Drogi, is an amplification of Bierut's keynote speech "The Struggle for Continued Strengthening of the Party and the National Front."

Franciszek Jozwiak-Witold, Minister of State Control, whose commentary is given below, calls on control commissions to shake up disinterested party organizations.]

The new period which the party now faces, marked by the death of Comrade Stalin, places new responsibilities upon the party. It demands a closer union with the USSR and with the party of Lenin and Stalin. Every party member must understand and realize that the great distinction of being a party member entails the responsibilities of revolutionary vigilance, iron discipline, party leadership in every field of endeavor, cooperation with the masses in daily work, high Communist morality, and the constant raising of one's ideological level. The smallest party cell and each party member must come to realize their individual responsibility, which is now greater than at any other time. Every party member must appraise more critically his party attitude and his party and professional work. Every party organization must examine critically whether it is fulfilling its role as the leader of the working class.

Generally speaking, the party has strengthened its authority throughout our society. Party organizations have shown great drive and aggressiveness in the many political and economic campaigns. The successes we have achieved, however, should not conceal the faults and deficiencies that still exist especially in the lack of vigilance, the liberal attitude toward errors committed by our comrades, and the light treatment of party and state directives, laws,

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and decrees. There is still a great deal of favoritism in our party organizations, and the suppression of criticism is still not an isolated fact. There is still plenty of "buck-passing," garrulousness, and indifference. All these harmful manifestations are caused by the many elements of the bourgeois mentality and narrow-mindedness that have penetrated the party.

Comrade Stalin teaches that the thinking of people does not keep pace with the development of economic conditions. If during this transitional period there still exist capitalistic elements in our economy, then it is obvious that the remnants of capitalism in the thinking of people, even in the thinking of many party members, are still very strong. They are strengthened and kept alive by the capitalistic encirclement and US imperialism which by various methods and feelers attempt to infiltrate with their imperialistic and bourgeois ideology. We cannot forget for an instant that the building of the foundations of socialism in our country is being carried out under severe battle conditions with the class enemy. The enemy, though defeated, has not been crushed, and he tries to show his influence here and there and to penetrate our party, state, and social organizations. The enemy lies in wait and looks for our weakest spots to use for his hostile aims against the people. Unfortunately there are many such spots, as a result of errors and shortcomings in our party work, our persistently low ideological level, garrulousness, indifference, "buck-passing," and gossiping.

The party control in its work encounters incidents which confirm the statement of Comrade Bierut that the situation is bad in this respect within party ranks. Organizations still exist with members of a very low ideological quality. There are instances of moral decay not only among party members but also among individual party organizations. Under such conditions it is difficult to ask these party organizations and members to implement basic party tasks. Favoritism, bureaucracy, indifference, complacency, self-seeking, self-praise, and violation of party directives and resolutions usually go hand in hand with these manifestations of moral decay.

Investigations, especially those based on letters sent in by party and nonparty people, often reveal violations of party and state discipline, suppression of criticism, lack of vigilance, concealment of truth before the party, and concealment of existing unhealthy conditions from the party.

The party member cannot ignore undesirable conditions and deficiencies in work. On the contrary, it is his duty to the party to inform party authorities up to and including the KC (Komitet Centralny, Central Committee) of all deficiencies, without regard for those who may be affected. Sincerity, honesty, and an unquestioned execution of party and state obligations is expected of party members.

Violations of party or state discipline, suppression of criticism, loss of vigilance, and the concealment of truth from the party take on special significance in the light of the resolutions of the 19th Congress of the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union). If the 19th Congress charged the CPSU with the task of combating similar manifestations, certainly our party and all its members should declare war against such manifestations since we have many more.

Here are a few comparable figures for illustrative purposes. During 1952, the party control commission expelled 6,963 party members. Of these, expulsions for alien or hostile attitudes decreased from 44 percent in 1951 to 38 percent in 1952, but expulsions for infractions of party discipline and moral decay increased from 45 percent to 62 percent. These data show that, since the Third Plenum, the party has been purging itself primarily of openly hostile elements, but that only recently the problem of the struggle for the actual morality of

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the party member has arisen. It would be a serious mistake, however, to conclude from the above data that the problem of the struggle with enemy elements is no longer serious, as some party members would like to think. The purging of members who have concealed their past and who disguise themselves and strive to remain in the party at all costs is more urgent today than at any other time. The purging of these deeply entrenched enemies is more difficult and demands greater vigilance and greater effort. We must not, however, minimize the danger which the demoralized elements, spreading moral turpitude, present to the party, since this is the best possible encouragement to the enemy. These elements undermine party authority among nonparty masses and hinder the party in the execution of the serious tasks which it now faces. There remains among us, unfortunately, a lot of trash in individual units of the party apparatus.

Many incidents attest to the penetration of the party apparatus by enemies. For example, the senior assistant at the Wojewodzka Szkoła Partyjna (Wojewodztwo Party School) in Wrocław worked for British intelligence during the occupation. The director of propaganda at the KP (Komitet Powiatowy, Powiat Committee) in Swinoujście is the son of a former large landholder who was a uniformed police officer during the occupation. Two instructors who were formerly uniformed police officers, and a third, a flunky of an evangelical minister, belonged to the Cieszyn KM (Komitet Miejski, Municipal Committee).

Opportunism and liberalism dangerously affect the attitude toward a purge of party ranks and an exposure of enemies still remaining in the party. It is not by chance that such liberalism and opportunism go hand in hand with moral decay, drunkenness, and officiousness. For example, Kipkowski, the secretary of the Slupsk KM, surrounded himself with alien and hostile people who dominated him and who determined the direction of the KM's work along opportunistic lines. They included the son of a kulak, who was formerly a granary owner; a prewar professional noncommissioned officer who completed the Central School of KOP (Komitet Obroncow Polski, Committee of Defenders of Poland); a prewar president of the Związek Rezerwistów (Union of Reservists) who was a PAL (Polska Armja Ludowa, Polish People's Army) officer during the occupation; a PPS (Polska Partja Socjalistyczna, Polish Socialist Party) member who was expelled from the party for hostile propaganda; and a graduate of the intelligence academy of the AK (Armja Krajowa, Home Army) during the occupation.

The moral status of the workers of this municipal committee was revealed in the many drinking parties arranged. Some political workers were taken home in autos dead drunk. Nobody reacted to this although workers warned the KW (Komitet Wojewodzki, Wojewodztwo Committee) and the KM authorities. No organizational measures were applied against these workers during the entire year; instead, they were advised to go to an alcoholics' clinic. The Slupsk party organization was contaminated by a hostile WRN (Wolnosc, Rownosc, Niepodleglosc; Freedom, Equality, Independence) element which gathered around the former chairman of the presidium of the Miejska Rada Narodowa (Municipal People's Council). The KW was informed of the state of affairs and of what was happening in the Slupsk KM, but, despite this, the KM secretary was promoted to the position of director of the Economic Division of the KW. Only now has he been called to answer to the party.

The degree of decay still prevalent in our economic apparatus and the great incidence of lack of vigilance is evident in the personnel situation of the PGR (Panstwowe Gospodarstwa Rolne, State Farms). For example, of 108 employed in one of the PGR regional administrations, 46 comprise an alien element which includes 15 former workers of the prewar regime and 18 former officers of the prewar regime and the AK. The resolutions of the Politburo of the KC on party organizational work in the PGR and on the necessity for purging the PGR economic administration have not been hitherto realized. The impression is created that many PGR have become a shelter for alien and hostile people.

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On... more glaring example of inexcusable stupidity and indifference would be worthwhile to cite here. An assistant in the faculty of Marxism-Leninism at the CRZZ (Centralna Rada Zwiaskow Zawodowych, Central Council of Trade Unions) school was a person who passed as a party member, paid his dues, was on party rolls, and was transferred from one wojewodztwo to another as a party member, and yet for 4 years, nobody demanded his party identification. This he did not have since he never was admitted to the party. A fictitious party identification number was sufficient for the KD (Komitet Dzielnicowy, Precinct Committee) of Starowka to employ him as a KD instructor. Similarly, as a result of the stupidity of the KP in Brudnica, an anomalous situation was created wherein the secretary of the Brudnica KM was a nonparty person.

Special attention must be paid to the disturbing incidents of irresponsible garrulousness and gossiping. Garrulousness and gossiping can never be tolerated, and the party must apply the severest measures against the guilty one, including removal from party membership and position. Let us remember, as Comrade Bierut has pointed out, that a Communist whose conduct is not governed by revolutionary and proletarian morality can easily be sucked into the mire of bourgeois habits. Unfortunately, quite a list of names and incidents of garrulousness and gossiping among party members in the party and state apparatus could be drawn up.

All party units, all party control commissions, and all party organizations must pay particular attention to the problem of drunkenness. Whisky is not only a factor disrupting the party, but a means by which the enemy, the spy, and the diversionist penetrate our ranks. The party control apparatus has started a decisive campaign against this disease. In 1952, the party punished and expelled 1,562 members for drunkenness.

A very important problem for all party members and all party organizations is the constant strengthening of party control, the implementation of party directives and resolutions, and the strengthening of self-criticism and criticism from below. The strengthening of party and state discipline is accomplished by the constant rooting out of perfunctory attitudes to party decisions and government resolutions and by a decisive battle with manifestations of lack of discipline in party ranks, factories, and state institutions.

Our accomplishments demand a constantly improving quality of work from all of us since, with progress in the building of socialism, constantly greater tasks face us. The struggle to execute party and government directives demands greater drive and greater mobilization of all our strength, and the mobilization of all party and nonparty people. Determined and unquestioning work discipline is demanded of each party member. A need of today also is the strengthening of party control over the work of all party organizations from top to bottom to help in the accomplishment of all the tasks facing us.

Every symptom of cliquishness, favoritism, bureaucracy, or suppression of criticism is a manifestation of enemy influences, and indicates that there is danger of disintegration and that some party members prefer bourgeois ideology to socialist ideology. It calls for immediate intervention by party units and party control commissions. Unfortunately there are many such signals, and unfortunately one often must wait a long time before party units step in and bring order.

A clique discovered in the Fabryka Urzadzen Mechanicznych (Mechanical Equipment Factory) at Poreba was composed of the general manager, the production manager, the secretary of the POP (Podstawowa Organizacja Partyjna, Basic Party Organization), and the chairman of the factory council. This clique organized drunken parties and spread demoralization in the plant, assigned living quarters by favoritism, promoted alien people to good positions, falsified reports on plan

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fulfillment, and suppressed criticism so that the party organizations became rotten with WRN elements. And despite the fact that the KP in Sawiercie was well informed of the situation at the Foreba plant, it did not take the proper action in time.

A serious deficiency in our party work is that many of our party units are not fully cognizant of the struggle to raise the level of party work, to strengthen the tie between party and nonparty people, and to liquidate bureaucracy, cliquishness, favoritism, and demoralization. Many party units do not know fully the weak spots in their party organization's system, and therefore cannot direct their attention to the part threatened most. Knowledge of weak spots in the regional network of party organizations is necessary for the efficient liquidation of them. This means that the wojewodztwo committees should work more closely with party units directly under their jurisdiction, in order to know them better. The same should be done by other party units. They should establish closer contact with primary party organizations and especially with party organizations in industrial plants, commerce, PGR, producers' cooperatives, and state institutions. They should have a more thorough knowledge of these organizations, should know the weak spots in their party and political work, and then should come to their aid.

Lack of control over execution is the same as lack of revolutionary vigilance. Party units should not look for somebody from the outside to investigate. Every party unit should be a shining example in the training of party members in the spirit of checking on the fulfillment of assigned tasks.

Party control commissions should do some serious work in this field. Tasks such as Comrade Bierut placed before the party in his report indicate to the party control commission that there cannot be efficient control without the proper assimilation of party resolutions and directives. This is the prime requisite for efficient work by the party control commission.

The second condition, which goes hand in hand with the first, is the increase of political consciousness and the assimilation of the immortal teachings of Stalin by members of the control commissions, since without this good work is impossible.

The third condition, indispensable for the fulfillment of tasks by the party control commission, is an adequate knowledge of its sphere of activity. We must remember that we cannot have control simply for the sake of control. Control should be applied primarily to weak spots and weak units in the party organizational system. Control should help heal sick spots in the party organizational units. This does not mean, obviously, that party organizations properly fulfilling their tasks should not be checked, but primarily that those organizations needing the most help should be checked.

The check-ups should constitute a program of education. Party control commissions should decide on what basic problems they should concentrate. They can be covered in six points:

1. Party control commissions should check on the fulfillment of party directives and resolutions, and on members' observance of the party by-laws; and should determine whether party organizations are taking positive steps against a perfunctory attitude toward the implementation of party and government resolutions and directives.
2. They should investigate how party organizations are carrying out party directives for raising the members' ideological and moral quality and vigilance, and how they are striving for purity in party ranks.
3. They should control the implementation of the principle of internal party democracy, the development of criticism and self-criticism, the struggle against suppression of criticism and against favoritism, bureaucracy, cliquishness, and gossiping.

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4. The commissions should investigate how party organizations mobilize party and nonparty people in the struggle for steady fulfillment of production plans and for work discipline, and against loafing and stoppages.

5. They must check on how party organizations mobilize party and nonparty people in keeping state and party secrets, and on how the battle against garrulousness and stupidity is being conducted.

6. They must check the work of party organizations in the mobilization of party and nonparty people in the struggle for the protection of public property.

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